/XI/

DEDICATION

114 These psychological-ethnographic commentaries, arising from questions that were asked me about the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana and which I could only answer through my assiduous observation of their customs and thoughts during my long stay among them and through the freedom they gave me to penetrate into the sanctuary of their souls, are dedicated paternally to the Pemón Indians themselves.

123 Not only did they answer my questions simply and let themselves be observed without suspicion, since I lived among 212 them "*quasi unus ex illis*"; there were those who, taught by us, answered by writing in their own language to avoid errors and so that the narration might flow naturally and spontaneously; so that in many cases I am a mere translater.

121 Although grouped with some logical order, these commentaries do not constitute a complete ethnographic study by any means; psychological observations predominate and I frequently bring into the mainstream /of my work/ proverbs of perennial philosophy and the tried statements of eminent thinkers to add flavor to my poor lucubrations.

Let them, thus, go into the hands of those who love the natives as precursors and beginnings of other, vaster studies, which shall be presented to the public view under the initials E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas /Venezuelan Native Studies/), should we be granted the time and means, for we live at the frontier and in the front line of the missions.

Machiques, May 1, 1946.

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/XIII/

PREFACE-PRESENTATION

114 To write a preface for a book by Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada would be an extremely difficult and quite perplexing task, were one to focus on the question with which he deals, in the same style and with the same mastery that he brings to it. But it is not a question of speaking or writing of these matters, but of presenting one of his productions.

To present a work by Fr. Armellada? The author of this interesting work is not an unknown in the field of linguistics and of letters; he is not a dilettante or a beginner in this type of aboriginal studies. A missionary among those of the front line in the Apolostolic Vicarate of the Caroní since 1933, a dweller in the regions of the Gran Sabana, in Bolívar State, during nearly 12 years, and most of all a brilliant investigator of the language, practices, and customs of the aborigines, his studies and observations were transformed into reality in the Gramática de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar of the Pemón Language/ (1), a considerable volume of 316 pages, and of which we ourselves wrote apropos to it: "The work has been carried out without haste, conscientiously, patiently, without complaints, without the din of drum and cymbal, and now is brought before the public without a fuss, without a show of

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[113] 1. Gramática y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar and Dictionary of the Pemón Language/. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. I: Gramática /Grammar/, by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní. C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1943.

/XIII cont./

114 vain ostentation, but in a complete fashion and one very suited to the modern exigencies of philological studies. Therefore we believe that those /XIV/ who are familiar with such material will not spare their plaudits and their phrases of approval." (2)

2. Venezuela Misionera, Monthly Publication, Year V, June, 1943.

Later he published the Diccionario de la lengua Pemón /Dictionary of the Pemón Language/ (3), about which in a

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3. Grámatica y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. II. Diccionario /Dictionary/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní, C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1944.

bibliographical note we also said: "Only a spirit as vigorous as that of Fr. Armellada, a will so dedicated to the cause of the natives, and a fondness so warm as his toward these regions of the Gran Sabana, where he has spent most of his days as a missionary, could have carried out a work of this nature, and a study which, by itself, will be more than sufficient to immortalize his name, by placing him among the foremost and most outstanding men of science in this Venezuelan Fatherland (4).

4. Venezuela Misionera, Year VI, July, 1944.

Therefore we state that Fr. Armellada is not a new writer upon Indian matters, since his studies are numerous and well

/XIV cont./

114 thought out and his name and renown have gone beyond the frontiers of the Nation. A constant collaborator in our magazine, Venezuela Missionera, since the time of its founding in 1939, he has known how to put forth something of his great knowledge in its pages, he has published more profound and scientific studies in other Venezuelan and foreign magazines, articles which have earned the unanimous approbation of the knowing and warm praise from ethnologists.

* * *

Cómo son los Indios Pemones de la Gran Sabana is a quite complete study of the life of the Indians of the Gran Sabana and adjoining regions.

But what a study and what a work of ethnography! It is an original, his own, and a highly personal creation of its author, something which he has himself observed, and, after observation, came the taking down of notes, and then serious, calm meditation, and with the meditation were joined comparisons, scientific discussions with other missionaries who have also lived with the aborigines, and then collation with the principles laid down by /XV/ ethnologists and those who have dealt best with subjects with regard to the natives. All in all, Fr. Armellada has built his edifice well and has contrived to confect a quite complete study of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana.

In Venezuela Fr. Armellada is one of the few good and authentic ethnologists, and he forms a part of the glorious squadron of self-denying missionaries who march ahead of the civilizing and colonizing armies, true missionaries who do both religious work and work for their country. But, to be sure, always with pencil at the ready and notebook in hand, to attack the Indian and steal his secret in his native state.

/XV cont./

114 And I say that he is one of the good ethnologists, for he has studied the customs of the aborigine at their very source, that is to say, in the Indians, with those whom he has lived, those with whom he has sat down, not at the table, since they have none, but in a circle on the hard ground, those whom he has treated as friend, nay, more, as brother, as a mother treats her children. And why not thus penetrate into the life of the Indian in such an intimate and democratic way? Why not drink, at their pure spring, the crystalline waters, why not enter in this so ingratiating way into the hidden places of the reserved soul of the aborigine? Thence comes his collection of interesting data, of circumstances, which no one else, however observant he might be, could capture in the life of these natives of the Gran Sabana, and thence the value of his statements, the vigor of his principles, and the practical consequences which he deduces. This is why Fr. Armellada is due the appreciation of the knowing and the gratitude of those who will follow.

The author asks pardon for himself, due perhaps to his simple humility, when he states that this is not a complete treatise on the ethnography of the Indians. If it is not, much does it resemble one and well does it merit being one. We shall say, without adulation nor exaggeration, that it is indeed a true treatise upon the customs of those aborigines. That there is room in it for enlargement and more completion neither do we deny.

A treatise and a study full of erudition and originality; inasmuch as the author is not content with simply relating the facts observed by him and by other missionaries, nor does he limit himself to delivering bare data, nor, what would be worse, has he taken the liberty of adorning with the trappings of fantasy or of literature what his eyes have seen and his talent as an observer has grasped, by later filling in with the colors and retouchings of the artist, some empty lacuna, a circumstance not understood, some badly interpreted fact, /XVI/ a mysterious

/XVI cont./

● 114 and malicious silence on the part of the Indian. Quite the contrary, Fr. Armellada is a witness to the facts, he studies, compares, arrives at practical conclusions, and then offers them to the reading public, which is so much interested in the life of those Indians.

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797 Until the Capuchin missionaries penetrated into those remote regions of the Venezuelan nation in 1930, little or nothing was known about them; nobody was interested in its natives, much less their language, which no one understood, and their customs, totally unknown to all. Scarcely a chance explorer or amateur went thither upon a daring tourist trip, in search of adventure; he passed like the bird through the air, without leaving a trace behind him. The Capuchin missionaries made the Gran Sabana their field of operations, to carry out the task that the Divine Master had set them, and to fulfill a sacred obligation to the National Government: to bring to the breast of the Church and into the pattern of the civilized world those authentic Venezuelans who still lived on the margin of religious and national events.

797 114 But the Capuchin missionaries of today have not wished to abandon the way of yesteryear nor have they swerved from the glorious tradition of their elders. Therefore, together with the knowledge, culture, and civilization that they have carried into those regions, they have known how to avail themselves of time in the study of the language, of autochthonous customs, making an abundant collection of linguistic and ethnographic knowledge, to later offer them, as Fr. Armellada is doing, to the Nation and to the scientific world.

Proof is clear that they have not wasted time and that they have not spared any effort to carry on their work: religious work, patriotic work, cultural work, and scientific work. Whence once again are being proven correct those statements

/XVI cont./

797 made by Don Arístides Rojas: "To the missionaries are to be
114 credited the first work, not only upon the ancient history of America, but also the first rudiments upon geography, hydrography, and natural history, as well as the introduction and cultivation of the native products of Europe. The missionaries were the first teachers in the teaching of the peoples of the continent, and also the 'first ethnographers' of America. Without the philological lucubrations of the /XVII/ missionaries, modern science would not have been able to study the divers languages of the New World, nor to establish their scientific inter-relationship. In the study of the languages and races which populated America, the works of the missionaries form the indispensable and necessary base for the ethnography of a large portion of the human race." (5)

With consummate correctness the notable Mexican indigenist, Mr. Manuel Gamio, said: "How grandly in the historical perspective of Mexico stands out the work of those most worthy colonial investigators who, like Sahagún, Gante, Motolinía, and others, studied native groups from points of view which we today call ethnographic, sociological, psychological, etc, when the principles and methods of the social sciences were as yet just appearing, this work being of such importance that without it our knowledge of the social evolution of the Mexican people would be incomparably more defective and incomplete than it is now. The success obtained by such wise men (6) is

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5. Arístides Rojas. Obras escogidas /Selected Works/. Paris, 1907. P. 201.

6. It is proper to clarify that Sahagún, Gante, and Motolinía were Franciscan religious and the first missionaries who came to Mexico.

/XVII cont./

777 due in great measure to the fact that, with logical judgment,
114 they had first learned the languages and dialects of the autocthonous groups with whom they were in contact and they carefully made corresponding grammatical texts which, despite the understandable deficiencies which are evident in the light of modern knowledge, are indisputably the basis and point of departure of contemporary linguistics." (7)

The same could be said by us of the work carried out in the same way by the first missionaries who worked in Venezuela, as can clearly be deduced from a study by Arístides Rojas (8) and from some biographic and bibliographic notes of P. C. de Carrocera (9) even though some pusillanimous souls have wanted to take this glory away from the Franciscan and Capuchin missionaries in Venezuela.

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[113] 7. Boletín indigenista. Vol. V. Mexico, D.F. December, 1945. No. 4. "La lingüística y el conocimiento de los indios monolingües /Linguistics and the Knowledge of Monolingual Indians/." P. 294.

8. Arístides Rojas, Op. cit. "Las lenguas indígenas en Venezuela /Native Languages in Venezuela/." P. 230.

9. Venezuela Misionera, Year VII, 1945. P. 5ff.

/XVIII/

000 When we hear speak or see the writings of certain modern amateurs, about the natives, without their having bothered to take one step outside of the big cities in order to study the facts at the source, we cannot understand the confidence that this implies, inasmuch as in these writings and those discourses there is said only what has been read in authors, perhaps overesteemed or of confused imagination, so that in a single act, or simply in a simple statement of an Indian, they have tried to discover a rite, a religious ceremony, a divinity, a malignant spirit of vengeance, when the fact has simply been nothing but a simple joke or a mocking trick, poking fun at the simplicity and the stubborn curiosity of the investigator. These are indigenists such as we would call those of the desk or the classroom, who have never been in contact with the Indian nor even seen him other than on paper and in their ardent fantasy.

797
114 By contrast our missionaries, who have spent years and more years in communication with the Indians, will not dare to lay down principles nor throw out assertions, without first weighing them on the scale of honest, calm, dispassionate judgment. We venture to say more; that they will gather in council, they will discuss the observed fact as seen on several occasions, in very different circumstances, in order to draw practical conclusions, or perhaps, as has happened on more than one occasion, to leave judgment pending, awaiting another more propitious occasion and seek new data; because the Indian, sometimes crafty, often suspicious, and always withdrawn, did not wish to talk nor let himself be surprised *in fraganti* by the missionary observer.

These *Ethnographic Studies* that we present have the exceptional merit of long observation on the part of the author, who, without biases of any kind, without any predisposition of spirit, and without animosity against the defenseless natives, came to them, speaking their own language, and by this behavior as easy as it is secure, was able to project himself into

/XVIII cont./

797 the soul of those he wished to teach, favoring them with his
114 confidence and affection and expecting the same from them. Did Fr. Armellada attain his goal? We can assert that, in general, he did indeed, for he succeeded in winning the confidence of the aborigines; whence the many and interesting data that he was able to collect and that he now offers to the reading public.

Perhaps someone less well acquainted with the matter might find exaggerated certain assertions by the author of this work; perhaps someone less scrupulous might rigorously find other established principles concerning the Indians; but we must always /XIX/ bear in mind that the Indian, as a people, is a child, the eternal minor, and that in addition he has to this date lacked religious principles, a cultural base, education and affection /afectos/ and as a result his works and his actions correspond to the isolated and sylvan life that until very recently he has led, and that it is not so easy as some would believe to change the nature and the life of the Indian overnight.

On the other hand, the fondness which Fr. Armellada professes towards the natives makes him diminish their natural defects and deficiencies that are found in them. And, in summation and conclusion, we could add, that he has wished to hew to the standards given by the Sacred Congregation of Propagation of the Faith in dealing with great prudence and maximum charity with native affairs, whether by word or through writing.

The author of this work has been most heedful of this standard, and rather has he preferred to sin by addition than by omission in his evaluations of certain customs of the Indians, trying to defend them and cover them with the cloak of benevolence.

Otherwise, the work answers a need and a question. To a need, in that up to date little or nothing has been known concretely of these Indians of the Gran Sabana, the Capuchin missionaries being the first to offer to the Nation and the world at large these interesting studies with technical comments

/XIX cont./

797 on the customs and their way of life. The work answers a
● 114 question, since throughout the Nation the Gran Sabana is spoken
of, and every aware citizen feels the very natural desire to
know what those aborigines are like, how they live, what they
do, and where they come from.

114 Many of the questions the author deals with here have been put to him by curious observers who knew something or had isolated reports through the press about those unknown regions; others the author has put to himself and he resolves them effectively after diligent study and no little observation.

We repeat, this is not a complete and perfect treatise of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana; they are serious and conscientious studies, which have close cohesion in themselves and which demand a later work to be published in time. Would that it may be thus, and that, saving economic difficulties, Fr. Armellada may be able to allure us with some more studies /XX/ from those he has in preparation. Meanwhile, we shall wait (10).

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10. There have previously been published some works dealing with the Gran Sabana. Here are noted the principal ones:

a) "Tres años de Misión en los confines de Guayana /Three Years in a Mission within the Borders of Guiana/," by Fr. Baltasar de Matallana. Bol. Ven. de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. IV., No. 29, 1937.

b) La Música Indígena Taurepán /Taurepán Native Music/, by Rev. Fr. Baltasar de Matallalla /sic/, Caracas, 1938.

/XX cont./

113 c) Pantón Ichipupué -- Así cuentan los indios /Pantón Ichipupué -- Thus Relate the Indians/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada. A series of articles published in Venezuela Misionera, Year 1944.

d) Exploración a la Guayana, /Exploration in Guiana/, Revista de Fomento, Year III, No. 19, 1939.

e) Los Indios Kamarakotos /The Camaracoto Indians/, by Dr. George Gaylord Simpson, Revista de Fomento, Year III, Nos. 22-25, 1940.

●114 And may our most sincere congratulations and our most fervent applause go to the author of this work. We do not doubt that the reading public will appreciate the merit of the work put into its hands by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Franciscan-Capuchin missionary.

Fray Antonino María de Madridanos
Capuchin Religious

Caracas, April, 1946.

/1 cont./

101 a) the innate tendency in every investigator to stress /2/ 114 small observed differences and with them to create new tribes, of which he calls himself the discoverer.

b) the erroneous belief that all of these tribes must each have its own name, its own social organization, and its territory drawn out with a surveyor's chain.

c) the universal tendency (not only of the Indians) to hide names, supposing that they exist; since tribes, like individuals, do not adopt names, but receive them, like the popular saying "I do not name myself; they name me," and, generally, these names imposed by others are based on defects or peculiarities that arouse mirth.

101 2. For a long time and on the oldest maps, there appear applied to the Indians in these regions the names Arinagoto, Cachirigoto, Barinagoto, Purucoto, etc., shuffled about at will. And my readers will recall others, Cumanagoto, Esmeregoto, Boquiracoto, etc.

At the present time the Indians also use for themselves and for their neighbors the names Roroima-kok, Inkari-kok, Tei-koi, Pichau-kok, Kapono-kok, Apoipueri-kok, and Kamara-koto.

These names are gentilitious and indicate derivation from the place or district in which they dwell. Koto, goto, kok, and koi mean "inhabitants of." And by this can be interpreted all of the names transcribed above; and thus we would have Kamara-koto, inhabitant of Kamara (ta); Roroima-kok, inhabitant of the Roroima; Inkari-tok, inhabitant of England (British Guiana); Tei-koi, inhabitant of the Sabana, or sabanero, etc.

3. The name "Arekuna" was applied to them later and with the slight variations Yarekuna and Yarikuna. Our Indians generally accept this name for their neighbors, but they reject it for themselves because of the etymological interpretation (although it is false) that they give it, "lake rat," and the somewhat obscene legend that they relate to it.

/2 cont./

101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that
this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do
not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish
the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation,
I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe
that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna,
"Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change
in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of
● 114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was
revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he
had become intimate with them. After him, explorers,
ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have
blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly
modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we mission-
aries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the
word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it
self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word,
despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the
Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or
deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of
these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able
to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word
192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to
say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings,
193 but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but
[114] only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the
Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar,
Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Taradell, of
our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an
[114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became con-
vinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been
tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
● [114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; *taure-puen*, "he who
says or speaks nothing."

5. *The word Pemón.* Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: *Pemón yuré*, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: *Pemón damá* (or *Pemontón*) *maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá*, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: *españoro*, Spaniard-Venezuelan; *karaivá*, Portuguese-Brazilian; *mekoró*, Negro; *parana-kirí*, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, *tepón-kén*, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, *Pemontones*, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the *Pemontones*, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that *Pemón* meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some *Sapé*, *Arutaní*, or *Sirianá*: *Pemón nak mueré*? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: *Aké, pemón neké mueré.* "No, this one is not Pemón."

P /4 cont./
101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries
and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word *Pemón*
P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad*
114 *de Ciencias Naturales*, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,
almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua
[113] y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its
Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book *Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní* /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there
V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this
114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes
the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is
highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other
trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians
P does not reach 60,000.

101 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and
the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,
P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná
[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind
[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor
to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the
Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and
even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom
he came to know in his many excursions through the South
American continent.

157 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón
Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[411] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[226] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[342] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[513]
[291]

131 /6 cont./

101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

● 114 361 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 133 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

Cumana SS9
Chaima

/13 cont./

000 phenomena created little gods, in contrast to the reasoning which assures us of the existence of a single God.

Creative is this Indian imagination which models their character and fills the world with fantastic beings! /14/

Chapter IV

Are the Indians Sad or Happy?

31. Contradictory evidence. 32. Somatic happiness and psychological happiness. 33. Under a humble cloak.... 34. The joke. 35. Religious anxiety?

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157 31. Humboldt says, speaking of the Chaima Indians: "Taciturn, without joy, turned in on himself, he affects a grave and mysterious air. When someone has lived a brief time in the missions and when he has not yet become familiar with the aspect of the Indians, he finds himself tempted to take their indolence and the dullness of their faculties as an expression of melancholy and a propensity to meditate."

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114
157 Diametrically opposed to this judgment is Simpson's, who, speaking of the Kamarakoto, says: "They are quite the opposite of withdrawn and silent.... On the contrary, their chatter is interminable and their faces constantly have their emotions shining through. The usual expression on the face is a broad smile, and any amusing incident makes them burst out in loud guffaws. They have an acute sense of humor and are always joking. They are very inclined to tell jokes." (P. 600.)

P [522]

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128 The difficulty inherent in reducing to a single category all the individuals of a single tribe (however small it may be) is clear, not to mention doing it for different tribes, although

/14 cont./

128 they might be of the same race. It is known that not even the fingers of the hand are the same, nor are there two faces alike, nor two perfectly equal characters. Apart from this, this question is very complex: somatic and psychological. A brief stay among them and a superficial knowledge of their language (the liveliest expression of the soul) cannot give more than glimpses and more or less erroneous conclusions. By contrast, a long stay with them of ten years, intimate, familiar, and colloquial, I believe gives me a certain authority to touch upon the subject.

152 32. Breaking down, in order to clarify and define well, we encounter, on the first level, a somatic, or, more specifically, a facial, gaiety.

● 114 152 In this sense the lack of vivacity can be noted in the expression of all of their passions, those of love as well as those of hate, in the Indians. I am in agreement with Humboldt in that the semi-immobility of the features is a characteristic feature of native tribes; and I am greatly surprised /15/ by Simpson's statement about the habitual smile and even more by the loud guffaws and that they are always good natured. [142] Quite the contrary, Indians, by their physiognomy, look like silhouettes cut out with scissors or bronze statues in the temple of fatalism; with their eyes half open and downcast, "as though drowsy with lassitude," the nose flat, the forehead low, and the lips thick and coarse, they have (as Humboldt says) "rather more a tribal or group physiognomy than the personal physiognomy of a given individual."

33. But the German explorer warns us that we must not take for melancholy the indolence and dullness or lack of vivacity. We must further bear in mind that every race has its standard of expression and of beauty, which might not be exactly the Hellenic or Caucasian ones. And thus, as the proverb says that "under a humble cloak there hides a good drinker," so also behind an amorphous face that might perhaps

/15 cont./
114 seem blank to us, the Indians generally hide a happy heart
152 overflowing with good humor. This is real, or psychological, happiness.

152 Freedom from difficulty in material life, the absence of psychological pred[illegible]pations, good social relations, an assiduous contemplation of nature, a scarcity of ambitions, etc., cannot do less than produce a certain intimate complacency, if it does not reach euphoria and felicity.

Naturally this is not a very exhilarating joy, but it is a truer one than the "laughter of dry or baked earth," which is told us of the Tuarez tribe or the "laughter of thorns in the fire," of which the Holy Books speak to us.

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195 34. The joke, an example of cleverness and an arm against ennui and tediousness, is not rare in the language of the Indians. Let us look, only by way of an example and not as a cataloge, at some of these:

E puek av-ichí? -- Ue-yepué puek edai?
What are you doing? What are you in? -- I am in my bones.

E puek av-echiri-puetí? -- Yuré neké; u-motá ponkón sekanon-cán puek man.
Why are you shouting? -- Not I, it is the inhabitants of my shoulder (hill) who are vexed (e.g., when carrying sticks).

On being asked to assent to a controversial matter, instead of answering iná, iná, "yes, yes," or iná-pe-ré, "it seems so," they respond with nearly homonymous phrases, but with an absolutely different meaning, ay-euná, y-euná, piok dapón, "your nose, full of pimples," or euná piré, "your reddish nose."

To say that they are very hungry frequently /16/ they are heard to say: u-paná kuntá karé euayichik, "I am with a belly up to my ear lobes."

On river trips, during which tediousness can be extreme, they can often be heard seeking relief now shouting at a black bird, "this isn't black territory," now at a tijereta, "that one stole some scissors for a tail," now shouting at a macaw, "that

/16 cont./

522 one took an arrow from the Indians for his tail and a fruit for
195 a head," or now at a monkey which is running off, startled, "brother, just when I'm coming to visit, you go away," etc.....

●114 35. Many other manifestations of gaiety are beyond the scope of study in the short space of these little chapters. But I do not wish to end without calling attention to the poorly disguised sectarianism with which Dr. Simpson and his wife Ana Roe have tried to disparage religious ideas, by saying that they are bad for the Indians and the cause of an "anxiety" nothing less than "neurotic."

This statement, so gratuitous and tendentious, is on a par with another of the same author, in which he says that clothing creates modesty and that it is not shame that seeks clothing, and those other grammatical statements in which he says that there is no "clear distinction between nouns and adjectives" and "it is impossible to distinguish the adverb, preposition, or conjunction as special parts of speech."

It is a pity that the doctor has put into a ragged sack the warning that he himself puts in his prologue: "In matters dealing with the much more difficult problems of social culture, my observations are by necessity less complete. The best work in this specialty requires years of residence, an absolute command of the local dialect, and the fullest confidence of the Indians. We had only a few weeks available...."

So that, inasmuch as he has on his own confessed his ignorance, I do not believe it necessary to insist upon a refutation of such an assertion.

/20 cont./

461 like the *tapui amuenín* and *mua akenín* (builder of houses and
538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the *kamí tarén* (one who lives in his hammock) and the *tereutasén naké* (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the *karán* (traveler), who often turns out to be a *karán-karán* (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: *Kamí tarenkon, iuantón,*
● 114 "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work *Los Kamarakotos*, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate *conuco* /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

008 44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

/46 cont./

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114 When I write this I refer not only to former writers, who wrote in the old way, but also to many modern writers who copy these old ones and continue thinking in their simplistic manner in this so important matter. I refer particularly to this definition of piache, which I accidentally found in the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Piache. Tricksters who presided at the cult of the two divinities Katchimana and Jolokiamo worshiped by the Indians of Guiana. They declared their oracles by means of a sacred trumpet."

Of the Indians of Guiana, and precisely of those who live in the very heart of this region, I am writing these pages. I shall let pass this calling the piaches tricksters, since they are (for us) something of the sort; but this matter of "divinities" and of the "sacred trumpet" and of the "oracles" are pure inventions or poor interpretations. I don't know what the Katchimana can be, but I am sure that this Jolokiano /sic/ is a transcription and erroneous interpretation of Iurok-yamá, foxes, a name whose semantic extension is not difficult to attribute to our Christian ideas learned by the Indians. One should not put new wine in old skins, but old wine must be put in new skins: old information should be classified and made to fit modern standards and methods in the sciences.

Chapter XII

What Is There to the Magical Arts of the Indians?

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102. Backward or retrogressive? 103. Opposition of magic and religion. 104. The eternal struggle. 105. Magical fear and conjury vs. reverential love and invocation. 106. The philosophy of magic. 107. Deductions about homeopathy. 108. Idem. about sympathy.

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842 trip the next day, they do maintain several precautions such as putting on moriche sandals, abstaining from certain foods and from certain acts, nor do they dare to raise their voices.

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[114] 118. The patriarch of modern ethnology, Father W. Schmidt, director of the Vatican Ethnological Museum, sees three or four degrees of this custom of the couvade: a) abstinence from certain foods; b) abstention from certain acts; c) absolute rest up to staying in bed; d) an imitation by the man of the pains of childbirth in women.

The Pemón Indians (the men) at the present time only practice the couvade in the first two degrees. It would seem that formerly they also practiced the third degree, but only as a consequence of the first two, since if the Indian wishes to maintain a rigorous diet and in addition must abstain from most operations, the most logical and natural thing is that he should lie down in his hammock and rest, or, as they themselves say in their language, adopt the horizontal position, (esuraika), which is the least tiring one.

From this it is not necessary to infer that the diet should be fasting, nor even less should we believe in bloody mortifications, when precisely what is trying to be avoided is all pain, all fatigue, and all unbalance which by repercussion might damage the tender infant. For this I judge most exaggerated

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and even contradictory what Roberto Agramonte says about the Caribes, documented in who knows what acts: "Among the Caribes, the man /56/ fasted for six months and became as thin as a skeleton; the fast consisted of eating cassava: at the end of 40 days of fasting (so exact?) the members of the family covered him with deep scratches until he bled and to martyrize him even more they washed his wounds with water and red pepper: then he returned to his hammock, completely sick and in pain, and continued the fasting until the seventh month, when he could now eat meat and fish."

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Let us note once more that the Pemón, with whom we are dealing, are clearly Caribes, and among the most primitive of them.

/81 cont./

800 177. What has been said about the modesty of the Indians and (by analogy) of their moral feelings and what has been briefly noted concerning their language is enough to form an idea of their spiritual culture; now the study of their physical inventions will complete the view of their material culture, which, however rudimentary it may be, will always speak to us very highly of its authors. "The most simple and crude of instruments and utensils discovered in the areas where lived and worked men of the first ages reveals to us the presence and action of a mind which knew the relationship between cause and effect, deducing from it another relationship, that of means and end.... No animal ever did so much, crossing the Rubicon from the shore of instinct to the shore of reason." (Msgr. Fernández Valbuena.)

By the manner in which the question is asked us, it is seen that our questioner is not one of those whose opinion is that Indians are "one more animal" or that "they live like real flocks of animals," but rather that he supposes that they have some culture and wants to know how much it is. Happily, it is thus: The Pemón Indians, whose material advance is not great if compared with ours, do not fail to have an appreciable 192 culture and one worthy of study. /82/ The mere enumeration of words referring to instruments and utensils would fill several pages.

114 The material culture of these Indians has been most minutely studied by Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson in his book Los Kamarakotos and before him and with greater perfection by T. Koch-Grünberg in his monumental work Von Roroima zun Orinoco /From Roroima to the Orinoco/. (To be sure in the study of their language and psychology we do not believe these to be so correct nor can we recommend them unconditionally, especially the first of them.)

178. Well then, whoever may wish more details and minutiae can find them in the afore-mentioned authors about the things we shall hereafter list and others as well. Hunting

105 /90 cont./

[756] or that some Indian, be he a good worker and that he gets drunk
[554] often or has many women, daughters /sic/ and sons-in-law and
daughters-in-law, whence proceeds some good kinsmen and
[593] these obey him as an elder relative; or by dint of valor they
respect one who is so and in war has killed some Indian or more;
and in conformity with those whom he has killed they make
him that many crowns and give him that many names."

● 114 This and other simple reports, made without affectation and straightforewardly, show very clearly the exaggeration of some old chroniclers and some modern /91/ fiction writers when they describe various caciques in the style of classic histories, but very far from the plain truth and the unvarnished truth of ethnography.

Chapter XXIV

Do the Indians Have a Religion?

000 198. Religiousness, a human characteristic? 199. The difficulty in studying noncodified religions. 200. Comparison with the study of language. 201. Preconceptions of the missionaries?

198. Another of the characteristics generally attributed to mankind is religiousness. "The former Mission companion," from the way in which he asks me the question, is also among those who believe that there cannot be a race or tribe, a horde or whatever, without religion.

This is what Cicero was thinking when he said: "There is no nation either so savage or so fierce that, even when it be ignorant of which God it ought to have, does not know that it ought to have one." And thus thought and still think, doubtless, the majority of men. But in this, as in everything, there is no

/91 cont./

[illegible] lack of those who chant "extra chorum": and as a small sample read what I now transcribe: "One of the characteristic qualities of man is, as has been said, religiousness....But what is certain is that many individuals, even among the most civilized, do not have this belief nor this impulse, and are content to live without any care for what they do not understand, lacking fear, admiration, and gratitude, which are the three motives for every religious concept....In this man is inferior to the dog, whose abnegation and fidelity to the person who gives him his daily bread knows no limits and whom he considers as a God more than as a master. This animal certainly believes in some thing superior to himself." (Topinard)

Thanks for that about being inferior to dogs, and let us continue, since it can quite clearly be seen that, when he tells us that "some individuals" do not have religion, it is implicitly conceded that "many" do have it.

199. Upon attempting to study noncodified religions not compiled into a body of doctrine; that is, without Creed or Confession of dogma, without Tables or Decalogue of morality, and without a regulator of the form of worship; upon studying religions whose elements are found diluted in practical life, one must have a very watchful eye, a great genius for observa-
● 14 tion, and a long period of living among /92/ the natives. For
171 lack of this last element Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson fell into such a grave error as to deny all religion to the Pemón Indians.

He asked them (or rather, he asked one or two of the semi-civilized ones, with whom he was able to communicate) what they thought about God, the soul, the other life, etc. They answered (to the consumer's taste) that some Indians talked of those things, but that the rest did not concern themselves with
[797] such. Conclusion, even flimsier than the premises: the Indians do not have any religion nor do they concern themselves about this and those who have received instruction from the missionaries live in a pained and sad state and are even neurotic.

/92 cont./

114 200. Had the Doctor asked the same Indians, when he was trying to make the grammar of their language, what they thought about the verb, the noun, and the other parts of speech, they would have given him the same answer; that they knew nothing of this nor did they worry themselves about it. Had he asked them, when he was trying to describe their houses, what was a circle and a cone, they would have answered him that they knew nothing about this. Had he interrogated them about the musical scale, they would again have answered that they didn't even understand what he was asking them. And he would have concluded, following the same logic, that the Pemón Indians had no parts of speech, nor houses with a circular base nor with a conical roof, nor did they have any melodies; and that only some ex-pupils of the missionaries had any very clear ideas of such things. That is not the method.

The Indian speaks his language and from it one must deduce its grammar; he lives his life and from it one must deduce his moral code and his beliefs; he sings his song and from it one must deduce his music; he weaves his baskets and from them one must deduce the type of weaving and the designs he executes.

It is clear, and very well do I understand it, that the study of beliefs and customs, as a very intimate and at times even reserved matter, needs much time and patience to be studied, very much more than the study of their language and their manual arts; but for this very reason it is a matter and a terrain closed to lightning-explorers, who want to come and kiss the Saint without standing in line.

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114 201. It will be said to me that we missionaries come prejudiced in favor of the Indians, inclined to praise and defend everything which is theirs and to see in them primitive man, only just come from the hands of God. To this I answer with the same frankness as Mons. Le Roy in the prologue to his so often cited book, *La Religion de los Primitivos*: "When I arrived at the mission I also had the ideas which were then in

/92 cont./

797 vogue: fetishistic Indians, without any religion, without family,
114 without morality, worshipers of animals, /93/ trees, rocks, anything." Only by dint of living among them and through observation did we manage to free ourselves of these bad prejudices and as many others about their language, culture, organization, etc. So that our ideas are not to be suspected of being partial.

000 All of us who have been there, in contact with the reality of facts and very far away from books, have on more than one occasion exclaimed that "the university teaches more of life than the life of the university," and we have quoted the saying, slightly exaggerated, of Nietzche: "Thoughts that arise when walking are the only ones of value." We do not in any way scorn books, but we do not subordinate to them the living reality, which is more varied than all invented systems, but vice versa.

Apart from this, the fundamental ideas were always before us; thus, turning to the comparison between Religion and Language, just as the majority of grammatical categories or organization turn out to be the same, regardless of variation in vocabulary, thus it will also happen in religious categories or phenomenology, regardless of the variety of shadings.

Something, and even a good deal, has been said about the religion of the Indians when dealing with their magic and their
771 moral sentiments. For now let it suffice to say that the Pemón
797 Indians are not irreligious nor areligious, they have their own native religion; further, for several generations they have been receiving the influence of our Christian religion, as we have also said about our European culture. Believe me, my dear questioner, "in verbo magistri," since you have been so kind as to call me "Doctor in Pemón"; and it shall be left to the next chapter to develop this most important and thorny question: "What is the religion of the Pemón Indians?"

121 In an earlier paper on Mongolian mammal names[1] I have emphasized the value and importance of compiling vernacular lists of mammal names. Most of what was said there applies with equal force to names used by Carib Indians in South America, the one exception being that no Carib dialect has any native written literature. The Carib languages are still the speech of the country over enormous areas in Venezuela, the Guianas, and Brazil, including regions where it is difficult or impossible to find any local inhabitant who speaks a European language. Their importance to the traveler and collector is thus obvious. It is also noteworthy that many explorers give the Carib names in their publications and that knowledge of these is essential to the technical reader. If the explorer was not a mammalogist or did not see the animal himself, the Carib name is more likely to be correct than is the European or the scientific name given in such publications. As is true also of Mongolian, Carib dialects have provided some of our popular (e.g., manatee) and some of our scientific (e.g., *Alouatta*) names for mammals, although it is true that a very different group of South American languages, Tupi-Guaraní, is more important in these respects.[2]

101 The following lists were based, in the
114 first place, on a vocabulary of the Kamarakoto dialect and another of the Taurepán dialect that I recorded in southern Venezuela early in 1939 while attached to the

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[1] 1938, Amer. Mus. Novitates, No. 980.

[2] See Simpson (1941), a summary of English vernacular names for South American mammals, written after the present paper but published first.

[p. 1-B]

101 Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana
of the Ministerio de Fomento, a depart-
● 114 ment of the Venezuelan Government.
In this connection I am much indebted to
114 the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egaña, and
to the organizers of the expedition and my companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López, Santiago E. Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in Venezuela was made possible by the generosity of Mr. H. S. Scarritt. The accurate equation of Indian with scientific names was made possible in many cases by the collection of mammals made on the same occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Technical lists of the mammals of this general region have been given by her (Roe, 1939) and by Tate (1939). The species named below are those of the Arekuna region. Animals known to the other Caribs are mostly the same species, or other races of them.

127 Knowledge of these two dialects has been supplemented by reference to many standard works, of which those of Koch-Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Williams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kaliña and compiled comparative Carib vocabularies), and Adam (compiled comparative vocabulary) are most important. I have cited an authority for each word not recorded by me. In a few cases these are secondary authorities (especially Adam and de Goeje) since their compilations make it unnecessary for present purposes to refer to the very scattered literature on each separate dialect. In most cases I have also given the Venezuelan Spanish names, since these often differ markedly from the Spanish of other regions.

[p. 1-C]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

TRANSCRIPTION

194 authors there is no way of telling when this sound really occurs. *ö* and ü are not exactly like the German sounds written in the same way or like French *eu* and *u*, respectively, but are near enough to make those pronunciations recognizable. In some dialects *ö* is barely or not distinguishable from *ë*. Most Spanish-speaking authors and some others (notably Williams although he is otherwise an excellent authority) do not distinguish *ö* from *o*, or sometimes from *ë* or even *e*, and *ü* from *u*. German authors, familiar with analogous sounds, do usually make the distinction, notably Koch-Grünberg. [114]

Two successive vowels of which the second is *-i* or *-u* are to be pronounced as falling diphthongs. For instance, *ai* is pronounced as in Spanish or as in the English word "aisle."

Consonants.—In general the usual English pronunciation is sufficiently close. *b* and *d* tend to be soft (nearly *v* and *th* as in "that"), but the hard (fully closed) pronunciation is a sufficiently safe general rule. *g* is always hard, as in "get," never as in "gem." *sh* is pronounced as in "ship," *ch* as in "chip," and *j* as in "judge." *w* is pronounced as in English, not as in German. *r* and *l* are interchangeable in Carib and no dialect really distinguishes the two. The correct pronunciation is impossible to an English-speaking person without long practice. Ordinary English (sounded) *r* and *l* will usually be recognizable. The flapped or single-trill Spanish *r*, if the reader has acquired it, is much closer, but the fully trilled Spanish *rr* is bad and French or German guttural *r* still worse. *n* is usually as in English words such as "no" or "on," but almost invariably at the end of words and before *k*, *g*, and *w* it takes on something or much of the sound of *ng* as in "sing." The sound here represented by *'* is another that does not consciously occur in European languages. It is formed by suddenly bringing the tongue in contact with the palate after a short vowel sound. It can be approximated by pronouncing a *t* after *i* and a *k* after other vowels, and has often been so written by

[p. 3-B]

4:Armellada M-5 (no date) 1960

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletín*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787 [192]

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[P.72 contains no English text--Analyst]

EDITORIAL NOTE

● 114 [122] The Revista de Fomento (official Review of the Ministerio de Fomento of the United States of Venezuela) takes pleasure in publishing the noteworthy work of Dr. George Gaylord Simpson entitled "The Kamarakoto Indians, Carib Tribe of Venezuelan Guiana," which it believes to be an important scientific contribution to the ethnology of the Venezuelan indigenous tribes in general and, more particularly, to that of the Venezuelan Carib tribes.

Dr. Simpson, a distinguished vertebrate paleontologist of The American Museum of Natural History of New York, was graduated from Yale University (Ph. B. 1923, Ph. D. 1926), where he made investigations on geology and vertebrate paleontology. He has also done scientific research under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, the National Research Council, the International Education Board, the British Museum (Natural History) in London and, finally, for the American Museum of Natural History in New York where he has been an associate curator since 1929. He belongs to the following scientific societies: Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, American Society of Mammalogists, American Society of Naturalists, American Philosophical Society, Paleontological Society, Geological Society of America, and others. He is a corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London and of the Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geograficos "Gaea," and an active member of the Explorers Club. He has taken part in many paleontological expeditions in the United States of America and in South America, as a staff member of the American Museum of Natural History, and has published more than two hundred scientific papers and books.

Dr. Simpson came to Venezuela in September 1938, together with his wife Dr. Anne Roe, by special invitation of the President through the Ministerio de Fomento and as representative of the American Museum of Natural History, in order to organize the collection, preparation, and scientific study of fossil mammals near Barquisimeto and elsewhere in Venezuela, following up the work begun by Brother Nectario Maria of La Salle Institute in Barquisimeto.

Dr. Simpson went to the region of San Miguel, near the Barquisimeto-Quibor highway, where he planned and carried out the work of collecting fossil mammal bones in the field revealed by Brother Nectario Maria's explorations.

[p. viii]

114 Dr. Roe accompanied him in this work, carrying out scientific investigations on the recent mammals of that region. Several hundred fossil bones, remains of gigantic mammals, were collected during the work carried out there and were sent for study and classification to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they will be duly prepared and identified by Dr. Simpson and then divided equally for the enrichment of the collections of the natural history museums of Caracas and of New York. The first prepared material resulting from the continuous and careful work of Dr. Simpson will arrive in Venezuela early in 1941.

Dr. Simpson studied some other localities favorable for the occurrence of fossil mammals in the States of Lara and Trujillo, Venezuela. He also went to the eastern part of the Republic, in the vicinity of Zaraza, where he made interesting finds and studied the fossiliferous strata.

[101] Subsequently, in May 1939, Dr. Simpson and Dr. Roe were invited to take part in the Expedition to Explore the Gran Sabana (the "Great Grassland" and adjacent zones of southeastern Venezuela), organized by the Ministerio de Fomento, and it was there that Dr. Simpson devoted himself with great interest to the scientific and methodical gathering of anthropological and ethnological data on the Kamarakoto Indians, while Dr. Roe eagerly devoted herself to the recent mammalian fauna of the regions of Kamarata and Santa Elena, both valuable contributions supplementing the general study of the Gran Sabana region.

The present publication is the result of the detailed investigations carried out by Dr. Simpson with admirable scientific ability. In publishing this monograph on the Kamarakoto Indians, the Revista de Fomento considers it as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of our aborigines, in general, and of the Carib tribes of Venezuelan Guiana, in particular, and wishes to express its gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Simpson and to the American Museum of Natural History of New York for their important scientific collaboration.

[p. ix]

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually
137 live in forests while others habitually
182 live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taurepanes,
133 are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding
forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation.
They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer
relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even
temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend
of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and
the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but
are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping
indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of
Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel,
hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[177] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them
an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their
study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one
tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example
of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and
that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized,"
"Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to,
rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends
itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the
greatest social and economic importance.

● 114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Acosta, Requena, and Jahn to know that more recent and still more technical studies of Venezuelan Indians are not lacking. It is not ignoring the work of these and many other enthusiastic and able students, but only stating a fact with which they would agree, to say that in spite of their efforts, Venezuela is still one of the regions where relatively the most remains to be done in the various fields of technical anthropology.

Regarding the Kamarakotos, nothing reliable and important has ever before been published. As I shall show below, literature on them includes only one old reference, doubtful as to meaning and unimportant in content, a few mentions of the name or conjectures, mostly incorrect, by writers or cartographers who knew nothing of the Kamarakotos at first hand, and a single recent brief first-hand mention (by Tate) that is not and was not meant to be of any scientific value. As far as it relates to this tribe, the material in the present monograph is therefore necessarily entirely new.

101 Some allied tribes have been carefully studied and frequent comparisons
114 are made with them, mainly on the basis of this literature. Some of the best
121 studies and those by far most important for present comparisons are on the Taurepanes. The great German field ethnographer Koch-Grünberg has published an exhaustive five-volume work mainly devoted to this tribe which, however, he knew more intimately through its most southern, Brazilian, than through its Venezuelan representatives. The Taurepanes are Arekunas,[3] like the Kamarakotos, and resemble the latter in almost every way. No effort is made here to replace or to repeat Koch-Grünberg's work, as far as it applies to the Arekunas generally, but only to show how far it does apply to the whole group, to bring out the features that do distinguish the Kamarakotos within the group, and to supplement the earlier work by devoting special attention to some important subjects, such as textile techniques, that were not treated in detail by Koch-Grünberg despite the length of his work. Unfortunately, Koch-Grünberg's publications are rare and expensive and have appeared only in German. The missionaries of Santa Elena have acquired a knowledge of this tribe second only to that of Koch-Grünberg, if not exceeding the latter. Unfortunately, however, they have as yet published almost nothing new on this subject (see the notes by Baltasar de Matallana cited in the references at end of this monograph).

114 Among more distantly allied tribes, those of British Guiana are most important for comparisons. Here there is a wealth of published material, for few Indians anywhere have been studied more carefully or at greater length. The work of Roth is particularly important here as it is thoroughly reliable, sums up all previous work as well as that of Roth himself, and goes into the most exhaustive detail — a single one of his several publications, called "an introductory study" with humor perhaps unconscious, runs to some 720 quarto pages in fine type with 183 plates and 341 text-figures![4] On the linguistic side,

3, 4 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into
121 which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date.
131 Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no
101 means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175
101 information on the location of the "Camaracotos" of that time, but the inference from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Guaicas" of this account were doubtless Akawais.[5] There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been completely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some other northern branch of the Arekunas, who are not mentioned under that name, than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interesting, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real ethnographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114
101 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand account of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a circumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní. [131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they are Arekunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly known.[6]

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or rediscovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand contact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photographs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery of Auyán-tepúi (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years

5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Gardona and Heny,
101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know.[7]
Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier,
but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true
sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time,
but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which
I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention
specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense,
and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them.
In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question
as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that
is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic
possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According
to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian
(presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days
of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of
Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east
of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There
were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend
[805] curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the
conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago.
It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating
is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to
have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on,
and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was
recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from
[101] farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are
said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the
present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient"
or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are
further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even
remembered, as given on a later page.

[7] [see footnote on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north
of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of
this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from
the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the
dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of
Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed
into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from
the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos"
must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because
the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed
with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
721 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago,
between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a
tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over
fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war.
There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's
life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared
never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of
such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or
others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago.
The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact
with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with
the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned
for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work
possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento,
Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition,
members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks
to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

● 114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[197] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but re-
ferable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect,
Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language,
[192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is
relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at
[177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words ap-
ply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8]
and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than
directly from Spanish-speaking people.

●114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kama-
rakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira),
"membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by
me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and
[197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions,
his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamara-
kotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

[8] [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 — Analyst]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those
197 of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both
128 of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save
space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully.
Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and
when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word
was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe
are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and
197 occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all
114 other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usu-
ally recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient
for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed
original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly
[104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here
put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken simi-
lar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occa-
sionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both
necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own
sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult
the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

[39] [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 – Analyst]

601 80. *parətsi*
81. *pipi*
Aunt, uncle (also some relatives by marriage):
82. *°awo* (see below, under *wari*)
83. *°wari* (see below)
84. *mui*
85. *wani*

*197 601 171 114 *Etymological notes on relationship words.* Comparisons of Kamarakoto relationship words with the similar Makuchi words are given in discussing relationship concepts in general on a later page. Comparison in detail with Taurepan concepts is impossible because the only reliable source, Koch-Grünberg, is in this respect inadequate since he almost never fully defines the Taurepan words. Generally his roots are recognizably the same as those I have recorded for Kamarakoto, e.g.: Kamarakoto *(u)mo*, Taurepan (K.-G.) *(u)mu*; K. *tamo*, T. (K.-G.) *-ta:mo*; K. *awo*, T. (K.-G.) *a:uo*; K. *poitoru*, T. (K.-G.) *poitolũ*; etc. Koch-Grünberg gives a few roots in Taurepan that I have not recorded in Kamarakoto: *naˀnai*, "older sister," *moyi*, "younger brother," *ukeipone*, "father-in-law," *wa:ˀnemule*, "sister-in-law." These may possibly occur in Kamarakoto, but at most they are not the usual words to express these ideas in that language. The following are a few of the more striking verbal differences between the two dialects in this field:

Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) *ayikeˀ*, "older brother," and *a:ˀyekeˀ*, "male cousin." These appear to be forms of the same word. In Kamarakoto an older brother is *rũiko* or *pi* (*uyadetə*), depending on the sex of the person of reference, and a male cousin is simply called "brother" if a relationship word is used at all. *rui*, etc., incorporated in the Kamarakoto *rũiko*, is a common Carib root. I do not place *ayikeˀ*.

Kamarakoto *paikõi* "mother" (in direct address). Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) *a:mai*. Forms like *amai*, *mamai* *mama*, etc., are widespread in Carib languages. *paikõi*, with slight vocalic variations, seems to be confined to Kamarakoto and a few adjacent groups of dubious tribal classification.

Kamarakoto *(u)rmɛ*, "son of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) *(u)lumɛ*: Makuchi (Williams) *(u)-n-re*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *(y)-ena-r*. The evident equivalence of the roots -*rm*- and -*nr*- is an interesting case of metathesis (combined with the permutation *m-n*). It is not apparent which is the older form; -*nr*- appears to be more common but -*rm*- appears in dialects that are generally rather archaic. This word means primarily "son," of (or with respect to) his mother, and secondarily it means "child," son or daughter, of a mother, that is, it is the word used by or to a woman in referring to her children. It is thus quite distinct from the (at least) equally widespread root *mure* (*murɛ*, *mulɛ*, *məlɛ*, etc.) which means primarily "child" (son or daughter) of

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related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

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113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tsaupan.
114. Ash — benna.
115. Charcoal — kadarrma-tipwa.
116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo'.

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Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa
118. putosa
119. pusa
120. kambwo
121. erindasa
122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

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*[197]
●[114]

123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.
124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.
125. Gourd bottle — wai.

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126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

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127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.
129. paiba
130. parakari
131. akeüveüka

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*197
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132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. ïna, o. ïna, ïna. Makuchi (Williams). [illegible]-nə. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) hōline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E. g. (all from Adam), Galibi arinato, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

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the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

285. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurum-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

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●[114]

b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

103

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-təpũi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-təpũi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-təpũi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukũi-wokõ-kũyen-təpũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-təpũi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyẽn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	______________
Kamarkai-barai-təpũi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

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(Williams) pa-³ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, uraːna. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

[171]

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

●[114]

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

[114]
[101]

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"73 Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. Taurepán, urareˀ. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species. — mõmbə. Taurepán, mõmbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

[73] [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

*197
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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi. nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po. inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po. inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kaliña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary. Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po. i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

[533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tõkõnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ', in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

[75] [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

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262

309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wakuːwa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) maːluʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroiːbo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõːlema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 365, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 824 241 ● [114] Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — *tamõi*. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — *kabai*.

Both *tamõi* and *kabai* are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, *tamõyen*, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *tam-yen*, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is *paipa*, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán *kawai* "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *kawai*, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) *kawai* "tobacco."

414. Cotton — *kateuwe*.

[224] 415. Magical plant — *kumi*. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a *kumi:ʔ* among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

824 b. *Wild.*

[193] 416. Tree, plant in general —*yɛ́ʔ* (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft *d* or *d*-mouillé, nearly *dy*). Tree names usually have -*yɛʔ* as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

417. Leaf — *yarɛ* (*y* usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — *moiʔ*.

419. Palms: Moriche = *Mauritia flexuosa* — *kwai-yɛʔ*, *gwai-yɛʔ*.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — *mausa-yɛʔ*.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = *Astrocaryum tucuma* (?) — *awara-yɛʔ*.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = *Maximiliana maripa* — *maripada-yɛʔ*.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = *Maximiliana regia* (?) — *aba‘-yɛʔ*.

424. Seje = *Oenocarpus* sp. — *kunwada*.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps *Gynerium* sp. — *purau-yɛʔ* (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

*192 *193 563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."

564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pę. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pę, "like an animal."

565. To, on. plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona taukin. "ten plus one." i.e. eleven.

566. Method. means of use — (it)ętsern.

567. Peccary call. sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.

101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.

569. Arekuna.

570. — Pabanaton. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

101 773 The following names are given in the legend of Maicha' as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakoiʔ — "from Luepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.

572. Karosiai — from the Gran Sabana.

573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.

574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.

575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha'.

576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Arito.

Grammar

*193 ● 114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of [192] Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*197 192 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto maikuri = Taurepán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from completely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some importance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a language that may be called Arekuna.

101 114 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who were not Maquiritares were called Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg divided them into Arekunas and Taurepánes (or "Taulipangs"). This was merely because the Taurepánes were the only Arekunas that he happened to know at first hand, and he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Arekunas than the latter do among themselves.[92] He gathered an "Arekuna" vocabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture) of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxonomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Arekunas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them Arekunas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekunas and only gave the more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroni Arekunas, even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana and all the more distant upper Caroni Indians Arekunas.

*[197] I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos, which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects, have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

[92] [see footnote on p. 317, category 116 - Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is
the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá
and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by
sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[164] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say
that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[261] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of
the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest
moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewiːba, is outside the valley proper), and
the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately
half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins
an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's
travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this
region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[135] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people
there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá,
Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each
other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the
cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected
by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They
do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated
not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders.
Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some
of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas
by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them
of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101

[97] [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

114 101 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central group.[98]

Census

103 162 115 125 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162 551 621 622

Name of place	Head man (toˀ-esaˀ)	Number of men
KAMARATA:		
Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
		Total in Kamarata - 11
AKANAMUINTA:		
Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
		Total in Akanamuinta-12
AKANAN VALLEY:		
Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
	(Lorenzo.[99]	3
Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
Maibá-mota, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
Ipupaipuú.	Rolando.	4
Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
Uaikimbaˀ.	Pablo Abati.	1
Urá-lupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

103	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
162	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
551	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
621 622			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2	
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3	
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2	
		Total others -	7
		Total men in central group -	78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably
about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this
region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more
than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and
its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might
be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any
other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated out-
side this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
● [119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For compari-
son, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99–101 [see footnotes on pp. 318–19, category 11b – Analyst]

[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be [343] less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof [17] and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal [114] sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be [17] called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchis, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchi houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

It

342 402 [252] almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done [357] in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days [313] or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often ● [118] assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is [171] simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

342 [177] The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabosso, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, [136] including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

335 342 343 [824] The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ? being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

342 [343] [824] Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial [171] Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 ● [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used t[illegible] but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are [illegible] made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [262] [423] [721] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

[117] [see footnote on p.320, category 116 - Analyst]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which
is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[171] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʼ piapoʼ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[171] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied
Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
● [114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʼ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

252 [177] Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 273 171 [263] 407 [171] Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] ● [114] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 407 [401] The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p.321, category 116 - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[285] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of
moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side
at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the
heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes
(in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the
first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana
Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for instance,
[464] unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the
sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing
so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name,
"alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough
to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use,
but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern.
These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and
dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these,
with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an
allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes
used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some
of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The
dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

● 114 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-Columbian
[177] days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively
as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán,
not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally
positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying
in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities
to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree
with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

[133] [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

174 114 291 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 291 177 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be supposed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 114 291 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 114 291 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 834 [179] The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 855 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before puberty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

302 386 824 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with *karõi*). The *Genipa* tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: *anonda* and *karaberõ*. The first is the even better known *Bixa* — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with *anonda*). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the *mausa-yę'*, a palm probably *Elaeis* sp., for use. The other red dye, *karaberõ*, is prepared from leaves of a vine, *Bignonia* (*sens. lat.* exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil. [439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, *kurawõri*, probably, like its name, merely a variety of *karaberõ*.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 101 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana ● [118] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is *tsimoʔ*, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably *Ischnosiphon* sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and *manare* in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called *wadapi*, a species of *Desmoncus*, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of *manare*.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 ● 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

289 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p.323, category 116 - Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[172] [462] man's work.

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 [171] The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

● [114] [121] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the description of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

*285 114 **Technique.** Indian basketry has been intensively studied in North America and several similar classifications of techniques have been based on those studies. For present purposes reference should be made particularly to Mason (1904), [171] Kissell (1916), and Weltfish (1930). The basketry of the northeastern part of South America, essentially a single culture area in this respect and one of which the Kamarakotos form an integral and typical part, has not been so carefully studied. Mason and some other students of North American basketry have mentioned it more or less incidentally and there are at least two excellent special studies, by Schmidt (1904) and by Roth (1924 and 1929). Practically all travelers in this region have mentioned basketry and many have figured or described various baskets, but without making any great contribution to classification and detailed understanding of techniques or of objects made of basketry. Even Koch-Grünberg, whose work is so thorough and extensive, says little of importance regarding basketry among the Taurepánes or other tribes that he studied.

*285 128 The following classification of techniques, although including almost all known, is made from the special point of view of the work of the Kamarakotos and their cultural allies. It is based especially on synthesis of the views of the five authorities cited above, as well as on the specimens themselves. Techniques positively known among the Kamarakotos are starred. Those that have not been surely identified among the Kamarakotos but are present in more or less typical form in this broader cultural area are marked with a dagger, † . Those unmarked do not occur here, or occur only as rare and decidedly atypical variants.

*285 *I. Elements of approximately equal size and flexibility and all more or less active----------------PLAITING.
*A. Elements approximately parallel at start (worked together) (always worked in two directions)-----------Plain Plaiting.
†1. Simply alternating quadrangles------Checked Plain Plaiting.
*2. In stepped or more complexly alternating quadrangles[146]------------Twilled Plain Plaiting.
*1 over 2.
Etc.
*B. Elements at angles to each other at start (one set or more woven across the others)-----------------Woven Plaiting.
*1. Elements in two directions
*a. Regularly alternating quadrangles----Checked Woven Plaiting.
†Closed
*Half-open (one set of elements open, the other closed).
*1 over 1
*1 over 2
Etc.

[146] [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 then straight across the base, then obliquely up the other side, on the oblique opposite to that of its descent. The side weave has the same general character in both but that of the second type is much closer as it has, relatively, twice as many oblique strands.

At the rim the ends of the oblique side strands are gathered into pairs, one from each direction, looped over a split-cane hoop, and their tips woven back obliquely (all in the same direction) into the parts of themselves just below the hoop. In some cases no further edging is provided, but usually another split-cane ring is placed outside the rim and one inside and the whole re-enforced edging then bound together by spiral wrapping, or sometimes sewed and tied with curagua twine. No handle is provided as an integral part of the basket but a simple loop handle, usually a piece of fibrous bark, is commonly added at one side.

The sides of these baskets are usually cylindrical, but they may be slightly or rarely strongly constricted below the rim, making them more flask-shaped (Fig. 59 C).

[17] No single element in their design or technique is unique, but baskets exactly like these seem to be practically confined to the Makuchis and Arekunas and they are very characteristic of the so-called Roroima Carib tribes. They have taken the place of some circular or oval based baskets and of all the open-work rectangular based baskets of other tribes (Roth describes and figures many of these), which are quite unknown to the Kamarakotos and at least rare among the Roroima tribes in general.

The Kamarakoto warakapi (Fig. 59 E) is constructed exactly like a waricha (only the variety with spiral strand in the base was seen) but is relatively greater in diameter and much less in depth and usually has a permanent handle. This is a loop of spirally wrapped wadapi across the middle of the rim.

Another basket, the ɛno-saramba, differs from the waricha only in being without any extra strands, leaving the weave a plain, widely open hexagonal lattice. It may be used like a waricha, but is not as good for similar purposes, and the special reason for its construction is to use as a bird cage. A stick is pushed through the mesh and the rim is squeezed together and tied, for which purpose it is left more flexible than in the waricha.

The only circular or elliptical based basket made or used by the Kamarakotos, which is also the only one that is woven rather than woven plaited throughout, is the tsimui' (Fig. 67), the small, inflexible basket that is attached to a dart quiver and used to carry a supply of kapok for putting the basal wadding on [128] the darts. Unfortunately my data on these are imperfect. Both radiate foundation and vertebrate foundation types are in use, but these are often obtained by trade and I am uncertain what type is woven by the Kamarakotos themselves, or whether both or neither are. Because of this uncertainty I do not give a de-[114] tailed description. For the distinctive characters of both types, reference may be made to Roth (1924).

[text continues on p. 194]

531 532 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

● 114 534 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recently (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various [128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534 I. Idiophones.	
Percussion.	
Rattles.	
Jingle rattles.	1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
Hollow rattles	2. Gourd rattles.
Stamping tubes	(Probably occur but were not seen.)
II. Membranophones.	
Two-headed drums	3. Dance drum.
III. Cordophones (not used).	
IV. Aerophones.	
Free.	(Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
Valve.	
Simple trumpets.	4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
	5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
Reed instruments (not observed).	
Flutes	
Ductless	
Transverse, with stops	6. Side-blown flute.

[162] [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534 Duct flutes
With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

● [114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind . . . . 4. Wooden trumpet.
5. Horn trumpet.
6. Flute.
7. Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)
III. String (not used)
IV. Percussion . . . . 1. Seed pods.
2. Rattles.
3. Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [533] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the
rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although
the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are
constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player
can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular
(open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The
body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of
appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa,
peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other
and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side
is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[284] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to
fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the
drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the
drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the
drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy
cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular
lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects,
which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The
drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

● 114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly
supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has
shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions.
On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding
that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the
Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example,
Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native
word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has
pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including
Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies,
evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the
Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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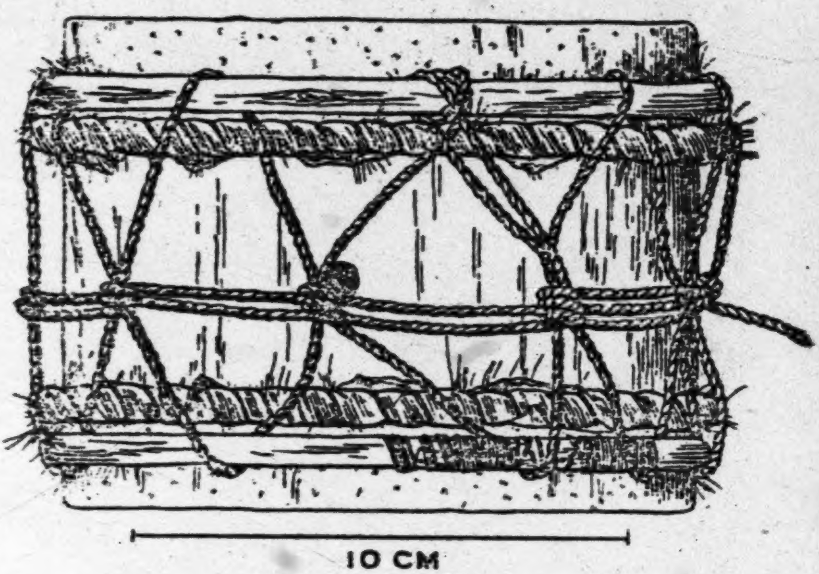

[535] Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

● 114 171 174 534 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort. Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

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[322]
[439]
[824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillifully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛʔ?) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near
501
171 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor-
●[114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

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[492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 — Analyst]

[text continues on p. 213]

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos
and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize
it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like
Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only
when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no
cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay
verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority
does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely
unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal.
Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of
him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana
and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a
whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna
tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically,
but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but
quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643
171 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
● 114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually
fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea
of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek
the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for
obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate
when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained
in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family
groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably
never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years
of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be
nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

M 602 601 114 [171]

Comparisons are made chiefly with Williams' Makuchi vocabulary. The Makuchi system appears to be like that of the Kamarakotos and Williams evidently understands it.

P M 601 171

Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister." The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	rüiko	wi, rui
Male	Male	Younger	(y)akon	moyi, akon
Male	Female	Older	(u)pi uyadetə	warathato, pipi
Male	Female	Younger	pirika	pi
Female	Male	Older	paruchi uyadete	e-na-ru, na-na, na-nau
Female	Male	Younger	paruchi	we-ri-chi
Female	Female	Older	pasi	pa-chi, tu
Female	Female	Younger	akon	akon

In both languages yakon, akon, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, akon,168 to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, pirika and pi (the essential root of pirika), and one for sister of a male, paruchi, distinguishing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by uyadetə, which means an older person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

P 601

168 [see footnote on p.327, category 116 - Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of *kanaima*, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparently
[124] complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a *kanaima*, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of *kanaima* was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a *kanaima* is hostile as such (i.e. is not a *kanaima* with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A *kanaima* may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are *kanaimaton*, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are *kanaimaton* to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a *kanaima* are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a *kanaima*. Rather vague reports
[171] suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi *kanaimaton* placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the refusal
[123] to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be
used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not *kanaimaton*.

[825] Some *kanaimaton* are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a *kanaima* that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A *kanaima* that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are *kanaimaton*, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other *kanaimaton*, although they appear, if at

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824 principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the
361 forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

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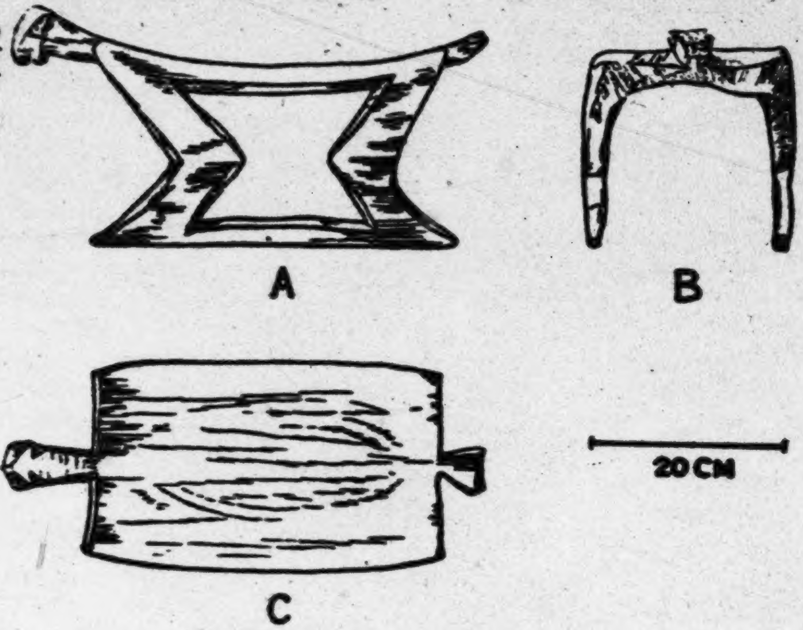

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

754 Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

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(14) The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children
"play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is com-
monly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might
(Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of
weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[171] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
● [114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures in-
cludes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[178] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some ex-
tent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowl-
edge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[126] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted
the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example
and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology
and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous
other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and
who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was
translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by
him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in
Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text
itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is in-
variable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the
present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call
Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 [114] Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians agree that the Arekunas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the handsomeness of the other Arekunas. [162] In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuna belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the chin. [302] On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

P 141 P [142] [101] These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekunas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekunas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

P M 128 141 114 The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine.[238]

P M 141 The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and 30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 -Analyst]

[text continues on p. 296]

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Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P
M
[128]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P
M
[101]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.[241]

Growth

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● [114]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p.335, category 116 – Analyst]

113 Schmidt, Max. 1904. Ableitung Südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 36, 490-512. Berlin.

Schomburgk, Richard. 1847-48. Reisen in Britisch-Guiana in den Jahren 1840-1844. Leipzig. (English translation, Georgetown, 1922-23)

Schomburgk, Robert Hermann. 1841. Reisen in Guiana und am Orinoko Während der Jahre 1835-1839. Leipzig.

Tate, G. H.H. 1938. A New "Lost World." Natural History, 42, 107-20, [101] ●[114] 153. New York. The "Arecunas" of this article are Kamarakotos, and this brief reference to them comprises all the first-hand information previously in print.

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Wissler, Clark. 1938. The American Indian. An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World. 3d edition. New York.

[p. 305]

FOOTNOTES

● 114 1. Koch-Grünberg wrote that they are forest Indians, but he did not know them and based his natural but incorrect belief on the likewise erroneous opinion that there were no sabanas appropriate for such Indians west of the Gran Sabana.

101 128 2. In such connections I see no way to differentiate the tribal Indians and civilized Venezuelans except by calling the latter and not the former "Venezuelans" or by long and cumbersome circumlocution. Of course, the Indians are Venezuelans also, and I do not mean to imply that they are not. To speak of the northern, the civilized, Venezuelans as "whites" would be an injustice to the great mass of them who are not white but who are highly civilized in a European sense. To speak of them, according to frequent Venezuelan custom, as "rational" ("racionales") in opposition to "Indian," is an even greater injustice to the Indians, who are in every way quite as rational as anyone else. Therefore, in the present paper generally when I speak of Venezuelans I mean those who are not tribal Indians.

101 114 3. Koch-Grünberg and some others following him have distinguished the Taurepanes from the Arekunas, but I shall show that it is both more convenient and more correct to consider them as a tribe of Arekunas.

114 4. Of course, this includes a great variety of different races and tribes, not all particularly comparable with the Kamarakotos and none quite like them. It is perhaps ungracious to criticize any aspect of Roth's splendid work, but in practical use it has the slight defect that it is sometimes hard for the reader to be sure to what exact local group a given datum applies, and still harder to visualize from it the elements that actually occur together to form the culture complex of any one group.

101 5. They[1] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

● 114 101 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 192 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ū with ə, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[1] [i.e. the Acawai – Analyst]

194 36. The words *Kamarata* = "Camarata" and *Kamarakoto* = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name *Ser-təpui*, but here the *ser* is not really a separate word and *-rt-* is one of the regular consonant successions, *r* + stop. Attempts to say *ser* out of context generally produced *se*. I do not know how the form *Ser-təpui* can have arisen. One other place name, *Atabar*, ends in *-r*, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal *-i* is frequently followed by *-n*.

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114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepân vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamərata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

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114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. *endana*, "eat," in which the *-nda-* is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

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826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 197 826 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."

194 197 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate. The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 192 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gü-, hu-, are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 197 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

● 114 601 197 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind," "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)məlɛ (= murɛ) as Ingarikó and unlɛ (= -nɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 197 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate with Kamarakoto ɔapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 192 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.

[1] [i.e. inɛʾ — Analyst]

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date.

[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these individuals. [825] No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

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104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

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●114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103
823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yurún-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruañ; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai', which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

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114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "uoino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives *p elo*, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than *T. albirostris*), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to *kanaima* (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto *katsupara* means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' *karibana*, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like *napi* and *cha'* (or *chak*), which in Kamarakoto are *napwei*, a *Dioscorea*, and *(i)cha'*, *Ipomea*. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of *both* words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the *napi* words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to *Dioscorea*, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to *Ipomea* or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the *napi*-words
241 really are *Ipomea* in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
● 114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of *Cedrela* and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the *-t-* after *i-*, e.g. in *itepi* and many other words, is the same as this reflexive *t-*, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. *it-* is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for *i-* (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this *-t-* merely substitutes after *i-* for the *-y-* that generally appears in the same circumstances after *u-* and *a-*.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193
[197] 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán *unda*, "my mouth," *to-məda*, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto *umeta*, *toˀ-meta*, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. *u-y-enji* (*j* as in English), "my daughter," *i:-lumɛ*, "their daughter," but *enji* and *lumɛ* are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. *endana* is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: *enda* (or euphonic *e* plus root *nda*), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto *meta-to*, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus *na*, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193
127 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout
Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsəʔ" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retə́rata, from "retratar" which they often
heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided
was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a
relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are
very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired
a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not
use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
● 114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they
are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the
Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[797] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the
[114] Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to
precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in
others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any
comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect
studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán
dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes
that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually
spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several
different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that
the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers
(see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Ka-
103 marakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
● 114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with *Mauritia* leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available *Oenocarpus* leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in
[262] North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call the plant *kosɛra*, the root *kõsɛ*, and the prepared bread *eke*.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event
211 is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

●[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the *supalari* among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("*zipōla:li*") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not
278 poisonous *per se*. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement
237 that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue.
412 Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the
171 Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the *ingɛ'* of the Taurepanes as *Lonchocarpus*
824 *densiflorus*, but the Kamarakoto *ingɛʔ* can hardly be that species if Pittier's
description of it is correct. It is more likely that *aya*, which Koch-Grünberg
[114] identifies as *Clibadium*, is *Lonchocarpus*. The classification or identification
of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226 824 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
114 innumerable doubtful points.

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans, Alejo's date is too late by a century
● [114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

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114 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some
Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no
[177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ...... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

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143. The daughters of Dr. Peña at Santa Elena showed me a rather poor three-strand tie, which is unlike anything I have seen described from this region, but which may not really be Taurepán since these girls are cultured, in a European sense, despite their extensive knowledge of the Taurepanes among whom they live and to whom their likewise cultured mother belongs.

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144. But my wife informs me that it is basically unlike any "civilized" technique, whether crocheting or knitting, and that the term is hardly applicable to it.

145. Roth says that bags are formed by sewing together the edges of the cylinder, but this is not true of the Kamarakotos, at least, and their procedure makes a seamless pocket that is much neater than would be produced by sewing.

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146. The usual stated distinction between checked (or checker) and twilled patterns is that the former is always one-over-one and the latter is one (or more)-over-two (or more). It seems to me that when two strands or more are woven into the checked pattern together, as if they were a simple two (or more)-ply strand, the result is not taxonomically distinct from the checked pattern. The essential difference is whether the pattern quadrangles, no matter how many strands form them, are simply alternating as in the checked pattern or whether they succeed each other in steps or some still more complicated way. I call only the latter sort of work twilled. Twilling cannot be one-over-one, but it can theoretically have any other over-and-under formula; checking is usually one-over-one but can theoretically have any over-and-under formula.

147. This rare and aberrant form, not seen among the Kamarakotos, should probably be considered only as a variant of the hexagonal lattice, in which one set of weft strands is lacking. Roth calls it pentagonal, which it is literally.

148. A variety of wrapping in which the weft strands interlock with each other as well as wrapping the warp elements, a style so distinctive that Roth is followed in distinguishing it from ordinary wrapping. Wrapping is transitional to coiling and the locked weave could even be classed as a sort of coil although its associations, and probably also its origin, are very different from those of true coiling. It is particularly close to "lace coil" (see next footnote), as Roth mentions (in different words).

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149. Kissell (1916), who has given one of the best discussions of coiled basketry, includes a third type of coiling, lace coil. The lace coil, however, is really a thread-textile and not a basketry technique. It is used to make

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

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171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

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227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

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252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use otapa for sifting.

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171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill
171 involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to
be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but
it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is cor-
482 rectly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form,
● 114 since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a raw-
411 hide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant
283 fibers for such purposes.

*285 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British
227 Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps
[171] and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they
[226] will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish,
by biting their heads.

*285 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was
192 told that it is "correct."
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*285 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after
531 they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Ka-
marakotos.

532 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a
177 non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in
another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was
seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has
ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently
been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated
members of the group.

534 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as ap-
824 plying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly
a reed flageolet.

534 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been
114 devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubt-
less an innovation under foreign influence.

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171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

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171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

● [114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

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674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

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439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.[1]

[1] [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analyst]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

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766 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

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[171] 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, *maraka*, by the piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be the primary purpose of the *maraka*, I feared that I had missed an essential point. I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the *maraka*, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

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123 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a *kanaima* and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

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123 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been resented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

171 266 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 114 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 171 158 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here, but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 177 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence, living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 296 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 276 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accompany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 [201] [484] 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 372 311 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 372 311 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obviously and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 273 176 177 407 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without direct European influence.

177 235 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 534 179 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 343 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 126 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

[1] [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]

[2] [i.e. chickens - Analyst] [3] [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]

[4] [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

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123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

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141 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.

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141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

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114 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekunas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.